THE NEW YORK PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Upon the Most Import-# ant Topics of the Hour.

COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING TRLEGRAPH.

The War for the Union and the War Against It.

From the Times. Mr. Thaddeus Stevens and his radical friends are not unlikely to overshoot their mark. Their fiery zeal will in due time defeat itself, and bring upon their own heads the punishment with which they threaten others. For all this agitation in Congress, this piting up of amendments to the Constitution, this denunciation of every man who differs from them, this anxiety to disable and punish our fellow-citizens in the Southern States, is in strange forgetfulness of considerations which the staterman who would live must ever keep in view. It presupposes the continuance during peace of a public opinion which acquired force under the excitement and perils of war. It makes no allowance for the abatement of technis which derived their strength from a conflict involving the life the pa ion, and which are naturally medified, if not credicated, now that danger has given place to triumph. And it ignores the fact that many of the measures urged by radical sm, and which the radical leaders would fam push to completion between the rising and the setting of the sun, cannot acquire any guerrantee of permanence, and not acquire any guarantee of permanence, and may be annulled without ceremony by another Congress. Even with regard to constitutional amendments, it takes for granted the concur-rence of the requisite number of States, although the known weakness of the radical element in several of them renders such a result extremely improbable. There is folly, therefore, as well as mischief, in some of the scenes now being enacted at Washington. The idea of subjugating the Southern States

and reducing them to the condition of conquered provinces obtained no favor during the period most likely to foster it. True, the Wendell Philipses on the platform enacted the same role of characters now played by the Stevenses of another place, but the great body of the people repudiated it unqualifiedly and always. The Copperheads, taking their one from the Phillips school of radicals, opposed the war under the allegation that it was a war or conquest. But the people, from whom men and means to carry on the war were derived, never regarded it as other than a struggle to preserve the national integrity. All their plans, all their aims, were predicated upon the continued existence of the Union in its entirety, and consequently upon the continuance within the Union of the Rebel states, throughout the whole term of the Rebel-

The entire policy of the Government, foreign and domestic, proceeded on this hypothesis. The proclamations of President Lincoln, the correspondence of the State Department, the legislation of Congress, the efforts and aspirations of the Northern people—all were in harmony upon this point. It was this and only this which justified the war. It was this and this only which sustained the North under reverse, animated it when things were their gloomiest aspect, and gave unceasing vigor to the spirit which led to victory. The States were held to be States all the time. And the close of the war was held to imply the resumption of former relations as be tween the Federal Government and the several States which had been concerned in the

This proper appreciation of the question is of more value, for most practical purposes, than the abstract arguments of publicists on either side. As the subtleties of the secession problem have been blown into nothingness from the cannon's mouth, so the theorizing of Messrs. Stevens and Shellabarger is blotted out as of no account by the deliberate judgment of the people. We have the testimony of General Grant to the good faith with which the civizens of the South acquiesce in the verdict of the war, and resume their allegiance to the old flag. The terms dic-tated by General Grant, with the full knowledge of President Luncoln, were calculated to bring

about this happy condition of affairs.

The great soldier who guided the struggle to its end dreamed not of arrogating to himself the functions of conqueror, or of imposing upon the South terms of vassalage. They who did the fighting felt always that they were fighting, not to extend a conqueror's flag over alien territory, not to add provinces to a republic and make is glorious symbol "a flaunting lie," but to put down Rebels and restore the authority of the Union over all its component parts. The armies of the Union fought only for that. And when that was accomplished, soldiers and people alike felt that the work of the war was ended, and that nothing remained to keep the Northern and Southern States apart. The Union was re-stored, and with the restored Union came back the equality of the States and the full title of each to the privileges conferred by the Con-

The Northern people have gone yet further. From the moment when the Rebellion was known to be suppressed, they have striven to heal the wounds occasioned by the war, and to reassure the South in every respect. They have established lines of steam communication almost without number. They have provided the means of reconstructing railroads. They have turnished capital to cultivate plantations and to promote industrial and commercial enterprises n every Southern State. They have settled liberally with Southern debtors, and have sent on credit goods to supply the Southern market. In this manner the question of the Union and the relations of Northern States to Southern States have been virtually and satisfactorily settled by the peoples of the two sections. Southern people come hither and find friends and fellow-citizens, instead of allens and subjugators. Nor hern people go there and snd, in the varied resources of States now freed from the curse of slavery, tresh grounds of confidence

in the power and prosperity of the Union.
It remains for men like Mr. Thaddeus Stevens to declare the work of the Grants and Shermans of the army unnuished, and to condemn the magnanimous spirit of the American people. To a man who had dared anything or done anything bestting a hero, we might be disposed to listen with respect. But that men who never shoul-dered a musket, nor exposed their precious persons to danger, should now scold and hector, and talk about terms which a conqueror may dictate, is simply intolerable. And when Mr. Stevens, who during the war attempted nothing more formidable than drafting of absurd gold bills, spits his venom upon the President, and impugns the sagacity and patriotism of Andrew

Johnson, the people will not be long in deciding to whom their confidence should be given.

On one hand, they see the type of a class whose radicalism years ago afforded Southern fire-caters the means of fomenting sectional stile, and whose zeal to-day smacks more of Austrian absolutism than of rational republic anism. On the other hand, they have a Southern loyalist who risked life and everything in the se of the Union, who did more than any other single man to organize loval sentiment in the border States, and whose policy since his elevation to power has been marked by con-summath skill and judgment and by a disinterested devotion to the restoration of national peace and unity, which entitles him to the cooperation of the country. It is against this patriot, tried and true—azainst this states-man, endowed so emmently with quali-ties peculiarly suited to the crisis—that Mr. Stevens presumptuously and insolently

Mr. Slevens presumptaously and insolently poposes to array the great Union party.

What good can possibly be effected by these repeated displays of the radical temper, and these renewed developments of the radical tactics? Is it imagined that by builying, and threatening, and insulting, Mr. Stevens can drive President Johnson from his position? Is it supposed that a party may be everlastingly frightened by the grack of an overseer's whip, or percand by the crack of an overseer's whip, or per-petually misled by cries devoid of reason, and acpeals which, though full of sound and fury,

signify nothing? If these be the expectations, we tell those who cherish them that they are doomed to disappointment, Andrew Johnson stood firm in the Senate with traitors around him; firm in Tennessee, when armness for the Union exposed him to trouble and death; and we are confident that he will not shrink now, with the public opinion of the nation overwhelm-

As to the Union party, we are not less sure that its usefulness to the country, and the prolongation of its power as a party, depend upon the restraints which it shall impose upon the schemes of the radical section. Its worst ene-mies are of its own household. If these assaults upon the Constitution and the Executive are to be continued, the Union will be in greater danger from the doings of professed friends than from the machinations of its most malignant enemies.

The time calls for forbearance, mederation, magnanimity. The country stands more in need of practical legisla ion than of "the previous question" and the prescriptions of legislative quacks. Shall it he said that the Union party is unequal to the exigences of the situation?

The Disturbed State of Europe-Danger in Every Country.

From the Herald. There is hardly a tranquil capital in Europe. Madrid, the capital of Spain, is revolutionary, tumultuous, dangerous, and under strict military rule. The people shout cheers for the men who are in open rebellion against the Government, and the Government dares not trust the very soldiers with which it would control the people. The capital of Ireland is under martial law. The capital of England is in an uncomfortable state, and decidedly nervous about certain great fires attributed to the bitterness and revenge of the Fenians, It is equally uncomfortable at the apprehension of a unancial disaster. The financial writer of the London Times, whose name appeared for a good round sum in the Rebel cotton loan list, is trying to prove that this disaster will come because the people trust the United States; but the people know well enough that it it comes it will be the result of England's immense and ruinous investment in the Rebei attempt to destroy the United States—an invest-ment which that mancial writer encouraged and wrote up, because that was the way in which he was expected to earn the sum for which his name was set down in the Rebel cotton loan list.

Paris is also uneasy. It has a financial danger, it has Mexico, and t has Rome. All these trouble the political atmosphere of the city, and it is hard to say how long the weather will be lair, and from which quarter the storm may come. Will the country endure the continual waste in Mexico of French men and French money in a scheme that cannot possibly bring advantage or honor to France? What new currents of political force may be brought to bear on this question by the development of great monetary trouble? How is it about Rome? If popular sentiment in Spain forced a solution of the Italian question there directly agrants all the wishes and residues of the against all the wishes and prejidices of the Spanish monarchy, connected by the closest ties with the Holy See, will it do less in France? Is France less free than Spain, with Spain still under a Bourbon? Have the thought and spirit of the French people less influence on the Government than the thought- or the Spanish people have upon a Bourbon monarchy? Will not the late Spanish example intect France, and

stir thoughts like these to a dangerous extent? Brusseis is torn by a storm of parties that may upset the new King at any hour, and rend the kingdom of Belgium into a French half and a Dutch half; Italy has just had a stormy dissolu-tion of the ministry over the very serious question of taxes; Prussia has the old trouble of an ambitious minister at war with ner people, and her Schieswig-Holstein indigestion; Austria, though doing very well in many respects, is far from easy in her Italian possessions. Altogether Europe is in a sufficiently unquiet state. and her danger is that if any one of these many difficulties should suddenly become great the storm would spread into every European country, and break up the whole present political

Napoleon's Dilemma in Mexico.

From the Herald. The news from Europe by the Atrica, arrived at Halifax on Thursday, points, though not very difinitely, towards the solution of the Mexican difficulty. Probably the most important indication of the turn which events are about to take is the statement of the Paris Presse that Napoleon has sent a messenger to Mexico to arrange for the speedy withdrawal of the French troops. We are not informed whether there is still involved in such arrangement the apparently existing condition of a recognition of the Mexican empire by the United States Government. Pos itive assurances have teen made by Drouyn de Lhuys that such are the only terms upon which the French Emperor will corsent to recall his troops from Mexico, and Mr. Seward has already announced that those terms 'seem to be impracticable.

The Mexican "dilemma" is now forming the ubject of serious consideration in the French Corps Legislatif, and our Paris correspondent says that the opposition is divided upon the natter, one branch—the Republican being disposed to throw no obstacle in the way of a withdrawal of the troops from Mexico, and permitting the Emperor to extricate himself de-cently from the trouble in which he has involved France. Perhaps they are prepared to give the Emperor rope enough and let him work his own way out of the difficulty or fall with it; the latter result probably being not objectionable to the republican wing of the

The London Times, which some time ago advocated the wisdom of Napoleon's withdrawing the troops, now endeavors to show that the dilemma which the French Emperor has reached is too painful to admit of such a solution. It argues that if he backs out he will be lost, by ubjecting French arms to the charge of recoil ing from a contemptible enemy; and if he holds on to his support of Maximilian he will be lost through embarrassments arising from American resentment. This is very poor consolation. The Times, while congratulating itself that England had the discretion to retire from this Mexican intervention before it became too not a subject, rubs it in unmercifully to Napoleon by reminding him that he is in "a most painful dilemma," from which there is no extri-

Profits of the Coal Dealers.

From the Herald. In tracing a long ton of two thousand two hundred and forty pounds of anthracite stove or egg coal from its native hills in Pennsylvania to the dealers' yards in this city, we find that its value increases in its transit somewhat as follows, starting at the low price of twenty-five

Worth in the mine	80
Out of the mine.	1
In Phi adelphia.	ceres !
At Ehrabetsport, N. J.	
At the New York dock	
At the retail yards.	
It will be seen that between the m	ines a
Philadelphia its value is increased si	
and fifteen cents, which amount is du	nefur

tween the transportation companies and the dealers in that city, and that after it arrives at the New York docks it very unaccountably be comes enhanced in value nearly four dollars more. Perhaps somebody in the business can show a cause for this sudden increase.

At Last. From the Tribune.

The Committee of Ways and Means yesterday reported to the House a bill to enable the Scoretary of the Treasury to fund the demand and early maturing indebtedness of the Government

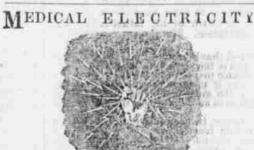
proved March 3 1865, shall be extended and con-struct to authorize the Secretary of the Fr-asary, at proved March 3 1865, shall be extended and construed to authorize the Secretary of the Frankry at his discretion, to receive any Treasury notes or other obligations issued under any set of Congress, whether bearing interest or not, in exchange for any description of bonds authorized by the act to which thats an amendment; and also to dispose of any description of bonds authorized by said act, either in the United States or elsewhere, to such an amount and in such manner and at such rates as he may think novieable for lawful, money of the United States; or for any irensury notes, certificates of indebtedness, or certificates of deposit, or other representatives of value which have been or may be issued under any act of Congress. But nothing herein contained shall be construed to authorize any increase of the public dept. Provided that the bonds which may be also-sed of essewhere than in the United States may be made payable, both principal and interes, in the coin and currency of the country in which they are made payable, but shall not bear a rate of interest exceeding five percentum per annum; and provided finther, that the act to which to which this is an amendment shall continue in full force in all its provisions, except as modified by the set. continue in full force in all its provisions, except as modified by this act.

-This bill is simple but comprehensive; and we do not see how it could be improved. It is said that part of the Committee stood out to the last against the di-cretion to make a foreign loan; but as our securities in large amount already are and will continue to be held in Europe, this seems more nice than wise. We heartily wish these securities were all held at home; we wish our people were prepared to pay them off, or ouy them up; but that is notoriously not the case; so what is to be gained by shutting our eyes to the most palpable facts? We are now paying six percent, on mill one which the holders sould gladly exchange for long five per cents printed in their own language, and payable in their own cities, instead of in a loreign country; and why should we not save the difference? We cannot imagine.

The naked truth is that the opposition to this as to other provisions of the bill is impelled by hostility to resumption at all—that is, to an early resumption. Every one verbally admits that we must resume some time: but a good many have little operations unmatured whereby they hope to make their pile out of currency in-fiation - so they are irrepressible in devising pretexts and dodges for its indefinite main-tenance. But for this, the above bill would promptly pass by a unanimous vote.

-And now let us entreat Congress to act decisively on this measure forthwith. Industry and pusiness have too long awaited the issue From nearly every city, we hear a complaint of the scarcity of dwellings; but who will erect house, when one that costs \$1500 to build now, will be worth but a \$1000 when we return to a par currency? Manifestly, the country should know what to depend upon forthwith. Rents are rising like balloons; office-holders are boring for higher salaries; tarmers are asked wages which their crops will not pay if they have to be sold at specie prices; and there is anarchy on all hands, which only a return to national solvency can terminate. Gentlemen in Congress! be good enough to let the people know what they may depend upon with regard to the currency, and at the very earliest

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very many others.

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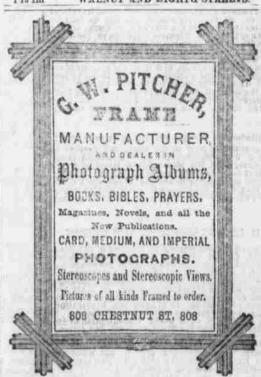
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